

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own ruho with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The
concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the ruho of
a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only
for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.

• 787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more suc-
cessful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aid-
ing and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow]
for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1).

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great
deal to provide his wife with ububutega
(rings made of grasses) which she wore by
the hundred on her legs. This finery
which weighed down the Banyarwanda
woman's figure and interfered with walk-
ing was considered the height of elegance,
for it gave her the gait of cows that are
[481] universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who
abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be dis-
graced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her ruho, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle,
p. 44.

from her husband.

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working
844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhamba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About
553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the
292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805]
[777]
[461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

553 from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young mother places herself near the door of the ruko with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

425 b) A Mutursi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

● [787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the ruge, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the intundano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
643

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
• [787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)."
The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),
643

2. Kalinga means "royal drum";
Karinga means "small copper ob-
ject."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The
Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur
of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people
of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the
affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to
obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of
various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been
minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages
in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au
centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in
the Center of Africa] (ed. I. R. C. B. [Institut
Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This
work constitutes a veritable and priceless
monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and
its people. We cannot do better than suggest
that the reader refer to it for everything con-
cerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami
● 787 is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council
(inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90]

6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

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292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
● [787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

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The oath is administered by the chief to both litigants and the witness before they speak. After planting their spears in the ground, they swear, saying: Nkabeshya iti chumu ndakaritega Mutara! (2) (If I lie, may this spear pierce Mutara!)

2. Instead of pronouncing the name of the reigning king, one often simply says, Ndakariteg'Umwami!

[118] In the past, in the case of a serious theft, assaults and wounds, or suspect illness or death, the accused who persisted in his denial was often tortured or subjected to an ordeal.

A person presumed guilty of a big robbery was tightly bound, then cow's urine was poured into the cuts made by the cords; or else he was deprived of food and beaten till he was crippled, all this without prejudicing the punishment.

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A man who had been the victim of a big robbery, or whose relative had been attacked by, or died of, a suspicious disease, would go to complain to the chief, accompanied by a Muhutu sorcerer (umushuzi), who would then perform the gushora (divination). The sorcerer would take a pruning knife (ikibabo) and ask the accused to spit on the blade (gukamira, lit., to milk) and to pronounce the following words: "If I am guilty, you will become black. If I am not guilty, you will become white like an inyange (ibis). " The umushuzi would then plunge the pruning knife into the fire. When the iron turned red-hot he scattered magic powder (umubi) on the blade and awaited the result of the experiment.

Another test currently used in the same cases was that of the chick called umuchuri (from guchurikam, to upset) for the occasion. The accused drank a little water, rinsed out his mouth, and spat out the water into the beak of the chick. The sorcerer (mututsi) then spoke to the bird, saying: "If you find that this one is guilty, you will make the traveler walk and the sedentary one stop. If he is not guilty, you will make the traveler rest and the sedentary one walk (1). "

1. These sibylline words can be explained as follows: In the entrails of the chick (ibilanga) there are some intestines which in contracting or expanding give the impression of retreating or advancing.

695 opened up its body, and after examining its entrails would give the
787 suitable interpretation.

696 [119] There is no special procedure in the execution of sentences. If the judgment concerns stolen cows, the plaintiff or the abagaragu go and take them from the thief. In other cases the condemned one does it himself, and if, as unlikely, he refuses to do so, the chief would compel him by force.

692 In principle, justice is gratuitous and legal expenses do not exist, but the judges are not indifferent to douceur, which gives an advantage to the powerful and wealthy ones. On the other hand, as a rule, an umugaragu with a palaver brings beer or tobacco to his shebuja so that he will bring his case before the tribunal.

Appeals are dealt with by the provincial chief whose tribunal is organized on the same basis as that of the hill chief. This appeal is called gusuzugura (lit., to despise the chief's justice) or gusubira urubanza (to begin the palaver over again).

In the past a Muhutu did not appeal to the provincial chief but to the umugabe w'ingabo (1).

1. Cf. Government and Administration, Right of War, p. 92.

On the other hand, the provincial chief's tribunal has first cognizance of cases concerning cattle and territorial litigation between hill chiefs. It is also obliged to act in cases of expulsion or dispossession of a Mututsi or a Muhutu by a hill chief.

The Mwami's tribunal is the supreme jurisdiction. The king presides, surrounded by his confidential men who are versed in the customs (abahanga) or by persons of high rank who have the responsibility of being judges.

Normally, the Mwami alone is competent to deal in the first instance, and with no appeal, with criminal affairs, [120] but he may delegate his power to an umutware. If, for example, a provincial chief has denounced a sorcerer to the king, the latter may command the chief to kill the umulozi.

Crimes of high treason and violation of state secrets are also exclusively of his competence.

695 In the past, in criminal cases judged by the Mwami, recourse was had to the gihango test in order to force the accused to

23| terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade.

[439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the

[262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food, and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior

[787] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135). Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453).

● [787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by

262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable. They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves. They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom:
753 when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks, the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.

[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders

[411] are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read

• 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are

726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy.

If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, ~~one~~ side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.

721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces

[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi
also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[197] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another
of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact
that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce
grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these re-
vealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighbor-
ing country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is
regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet
married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still
alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle
between the various parties when the pretender to the throne
returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the
succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and
its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual
act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the
Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he
usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent
into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of
the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father
during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor
by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usu-
ally it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the deci-
sion in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the
new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the coun-
cil. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the
cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he
receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now pro-
ceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he
has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and
he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burden-
some. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

774 Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body
787 of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees
the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also
meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after
death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul,
permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the
breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered
characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No.
41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the
Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the
spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within
a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the mo-
ment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi
(No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the
Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being
endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and
animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers,
etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences
of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their
own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and
makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of
what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has
a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the
thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides
the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because
it has its own generous "fountain soul."

775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the de-
ceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit
of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be vari-
ous ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru)
from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected
by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is
placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made
to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also
resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree,
fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
● 787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
794 makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
756 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspira-
tion and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases
passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner
as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the
medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga):
in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons
who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the
kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest
in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (de-
rived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is re-
garded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode
of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either be-
cause their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this
talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but
not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No.
19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred
spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and
conditions make their appearance, the person in question is
declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the
holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp.
462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled
with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

791 As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic
mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They
are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the
principal spirits, i. e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa,
or others. Depending on this association with a particular god,
they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the
others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

794 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually
575 the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be
cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation
caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged
position of various material advantages of joining the cult
society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors;
the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have
motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly
predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that
the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity;
he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects
and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of
Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted
members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets
of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the
[789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and
Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

796 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission
794 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great
575 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi,
Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they corre-
spond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary
in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs
a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society.
Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits'.
[787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their
"inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood,
they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc.
(No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is
expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats,
beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the
same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies
must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial
huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate.
Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty
it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
 787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is
 done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus.
 Many small objects are poured on the ground from various
 calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is
 explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi
 believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases
 correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an
 intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
 791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
 754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may
 be characterized in the following manner. According to
 Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medi-
 cine men who can free a person from the malediction of the
 evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, pro-
 tectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers
 who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the
 southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for
 the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or
mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In
 reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent
 person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
 [578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either in-
 curred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentric-
 ity, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have
 excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
 791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
 661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
 628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are
 always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as
 medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly in-
 formed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers
 under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied
 with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the
 evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

THE KINGDOM OF RUANDA

271

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzimu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the *Karisimbi*, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, *Banyarwanda* have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the *Nyiragongo*, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisaical life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. *Batutsi*, *Bahutu*, and *Batwa* may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: *diviners* (*bapfumu*) and *sorcerers* (*barokzi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 forebears. Along with the deeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the
king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the
land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of
the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
● [737] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to
find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic
Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II,
not translated/ for opinions re-
garding the authenticity of the
first /few/ sovereigns. As far
as the beginnings of the kingdom
are concerned, the traditional
documentation is of greater
value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics
nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we
can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings,
their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their
attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal
the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm
inspired by eventual triumph.

- [647] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important
Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of
customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief
of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails
numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
757 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk
teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne,
it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

- 644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
● 787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine,
and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

[252]

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According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naïve people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

[826]

The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

● 787

Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners. They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

● 787

2. The bones of goats are excluded from their divinatory practices.

To those small bones (imihundwa y' urwasaya), which must be six in number, they add three small pieces of iron (imbaba), three seeds of the gourd called inzungwane, and a piece of wood about ten centimeters long adorned with beads at one end and on one side, which is called igichumbi.

The diviners ascribe great importance to it /the last?/ and place it in the center of the jawbones, three to the right and three to the left, in order to consult the future. Another detail distinguishes them from their colleagues. While the latter throw their magic dice onto the plate (impinga) with an abrupt gesture, the Banyamihundwa simply allow theirs to fall upon the hide of one of the above-named animals.

Small bones play an important role at court and throughout the land. They are resorted to for everyday events. The bone thrower's role is to interpret the relative positions of the bones in accordance with his special knowledge. The number of dice or bones varies with the rank or title of the diviner. Each of the dice and bones has a significance of its own, which is modified in turn according to the manner in which they fall to the ground.... One must take into account the side upon which the bones fall, the direction in which they /393/ are pointing, and the position they assume in relation to each other. It is easy to imagine how many combinations are possible when all those elements are taken into account....

If the desired answer is not obtained at the first throw, one begins again...once, twice, ten times...until it comes (Levy-Bruhl) (1).

1. La Mentalité primitive
/Primitive Mentality/, Félix
Alcan Publ., 1922.

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abafôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of native people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.

695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

791 2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
789 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

754 which is no longer usable (umûsûmbi). Then they fetch a human tibia
 [827] or fibula (umurundi) with which they carry out a gruesome dance
 (guchuragura) in the courtyard of the person they wish to harm. They
 hold in their hand a small jar full of live coals to symbolize the life
 of their enemy which is soon to burn out. After breaking the clay jar
 and scattering the coals, they toss a handful of earth taken from a
 grave upon the owner's hut and say the following words in a low voice,
 [539] "I don't want your beans but your life" (Sinshak' ibishyimbo, ichyo
ndashaka n'amagara yawe). This is reputed to be one of the worst
 evil spells.

6. Gutambikir' umutambikiro, that is to say, "to dig a small
 ditch across" the path where the hated enemy they wish to bewitch
 will pass. This is another kind of spell by analogy /sympathetic
 [826] magic/. In order to do this, the operator must if possible procure a
 nerve taken from a human cadaver, and a strip of bamboo or some
 other wood that was used in transporting the dead.

With these he makes a tiny bow which he places in the ditch
 dug out on the path of his enemy, who is soon to come by. The hole
 is covered with earth and grass so as not to arouse anyone's suspicion.
 When the detested person puts his foot on the concealed bow, the
 spell caster, hidden in the surrounding bushes, pronounces in a low
 voice the fateful word, Fatwa, "Be caught." This is the end of the
 unlucky traveler. /403/ Assailed with violent intestinal pains,
 distended, blown up, he will soon die in terrible agonies, or so claims
 the theory.

This procedure is also designated under the name of kubang'
agaheto or guteg' umuntu agaheto, "to lay the bow trap."

7. Guteger' umuntu inkoko, "to practice the chick spell"
 754 (implicitly, one whose guts did not turn white, iteze neza, yabay'
 787 urutunda) is regarded along with guchuragura as one of the worst evil
 spells.

In order to make use of this spell, one usually resorts to
 specialists in divination who are past masters of this art. If the diviner
 [826] agrees to do the job, for a handsome fee, his client prepares to
 collect secretly (since the Blacks are suspicious and mistrustful of
 their fellow men) a little saliva expectorated by the person on whom

784 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
 787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
 [826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infallibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

787 9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
 845 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
 856 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
 of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly," (1)
 just like the maustan, portanta, and other ill omens of Roman times.

1. La mentalité primitive
 /The Primitive Mentality/,
 by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . . Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit,
ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these
sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment
that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo,
departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of
any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or
plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

787 Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
● nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no
783 matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting
with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for
purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the
misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify
unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly ma-
terial infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular
disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions,
some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women
alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in
other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and
must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction fre-
quently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or
eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition
to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to
a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter,
she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like
those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being
put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune,
and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has
been used to kill entails the same consequences.

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another
path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

787 If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest, it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

[273] The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

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Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a sub-division of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

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They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

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The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a

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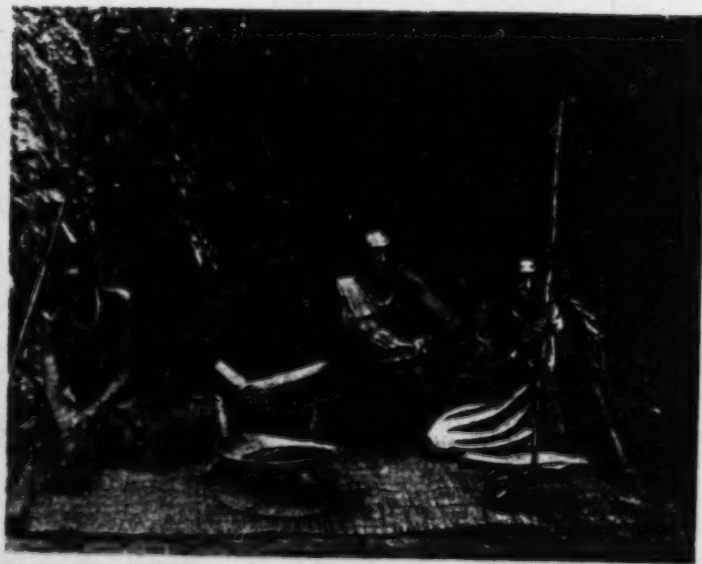
1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.



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A divination scene.

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

768 After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. However, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera, the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega) which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

251 In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286]

Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself.

• [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak
[173] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, dis-
[12] turbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people
talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

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Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the

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babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulem who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

[682] The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

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Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.

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If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips

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with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

[87]

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The mupfumu slits open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a depression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences known as nkebe. If there are not more than two or three nkebe, the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small vessel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the nkebe are added. This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is repeated on another chicken.

787 A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the mupfumu comes into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The soothsayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead, back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment, the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

[322]

789



Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

787



Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size.)
HIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)

787

In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

787

173

The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans.

Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787
173 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787
775 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams. What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

- 762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
 766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
 ● 787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

- 773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
 [115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
 [776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
 [178] into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
 [782] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
 dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
 he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

- This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all
 religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes
 nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other
 trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
 [787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury
 was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on
 the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food
 of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—
 mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

- 643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
 173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat
 Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda —
 Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima —
 Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro
 — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa
 — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by
 his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

- 692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
 645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed⁰⁰⁰
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and⁶⁵¹
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state^[655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he⁶⁴³
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he²⁶²
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening.^[273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal^[178]
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon^[644]
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls⁶⁴⁴
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took^[787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when⁶⁴³
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his^[762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated⁶⁴³
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king⁷⁶⁶
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows,^[231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died.^[742]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's party left on the second day, after receiving presents. 585

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was regarded and treated by them as a son. [606]

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field. 595 [556]

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife, or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and leave the bed to the guest and his wife. 837

ILLNESS AND DEATH

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness, the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been discovered by augury to be guilty was condemned without question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had very little chance of escape, and was always put to death. 754 [787]●

If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling the man. 695 [775] 683 [792]

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not always the eldest son. If a man died without having named 428 [763]

164
100 from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.²⁹

757 Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. 755
791 He was an interpreter of the will of God (*Imana*), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of 100
[198] chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by *Biheko*, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muwimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *murozi* (sorcerer). [153] If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.³⁰

755 These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

²⁹ Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21.

³⁰ See photographs in Maquet, 1917.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

27

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).³⁴ 754

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. 771
Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. 815
When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person. [753] [761] [241] 815 771 753 787 754

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things. 761 [775]

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural 155 829

³⁴ Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.

84

THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

182 cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that
 842 parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of
 605 biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',¹¹ would not be
 [114] considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is
 biologically much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former,
 so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a
 common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds.
 This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-
 Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the bio-
 logical conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society
 which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

821 Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a
 [182] view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were
 expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants
 say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor).
 The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother.
 Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the
 father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often
 regarded as more similar to their mothers.

844 The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married
 woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception
 845 was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as
 777 caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-
 787 luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only
 [123] way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins,
 851 usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer
 had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On
 the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged,
 the child was usually claimed by more than one.

851 The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater
 586 of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the
 child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for
 instance during a very long absence of the husband in which
 there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced
 woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay
 a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he
 married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who
 had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married
 man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

¹¹ Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 158.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

III

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(c) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inha*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

113

Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705
422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.¹⁸

(d) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701
651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). [187]

According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

¹⁸ On this section, see Kagame, 1952.